/158 cont./

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*[192]
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/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

*[192]

It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

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In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

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There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

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30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

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/footnote 30 cont./ greater importance, and a true fight with sticks, machetes, and arrows took place between the Makú and the Taryana, again on the occasion of a caxirí.

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There are, however, frequent fights for economic reasons (attacks on a clearing, cacurí, etc.). Not rarely there are quarrels due to intrigues, and the greater percentage of these happen among the women.

For revenge among themselves, the opportunity is drunkenness (31),

31. In order to have greater courage "he will get intoxicated," said one from Colombia. For this reason there are never duels among them. It is not reported either that they might engage in wrestling for exercise. During the fights they use any object that they have handy, machete, mortar, bow, etc., or even a shotgun!

and beforehand they invite for the celebrations those from whom they might want to get satisfaction. After this, even when the consequence is the victim's death, nothing in the Indian reveals repentance or remorse (32).

32. Years ago, in 1933, an episode of revenge with circumstances of special cruelty took place. In Ananaz, on the lower Uaupés, the Tukano killed two Desana men, cut a boy in half from the shoulder to the legs. The ones accused were taken to S. Gabriel (today the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ town of Uaupés) and questioned by the Inspector of the S.P.I. (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio). Without difficulty they confessed to the crime. -- But why did you kill them? -- "That is the way it is" was the only answer.

/374 cont./

121 266 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 721 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana: --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

[727] [567] As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 648 • 726 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/ and the natives of the banks of the Cañanari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

/375 cont./

266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Iahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past.

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnua*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*.

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupian and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí.

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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714 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.